

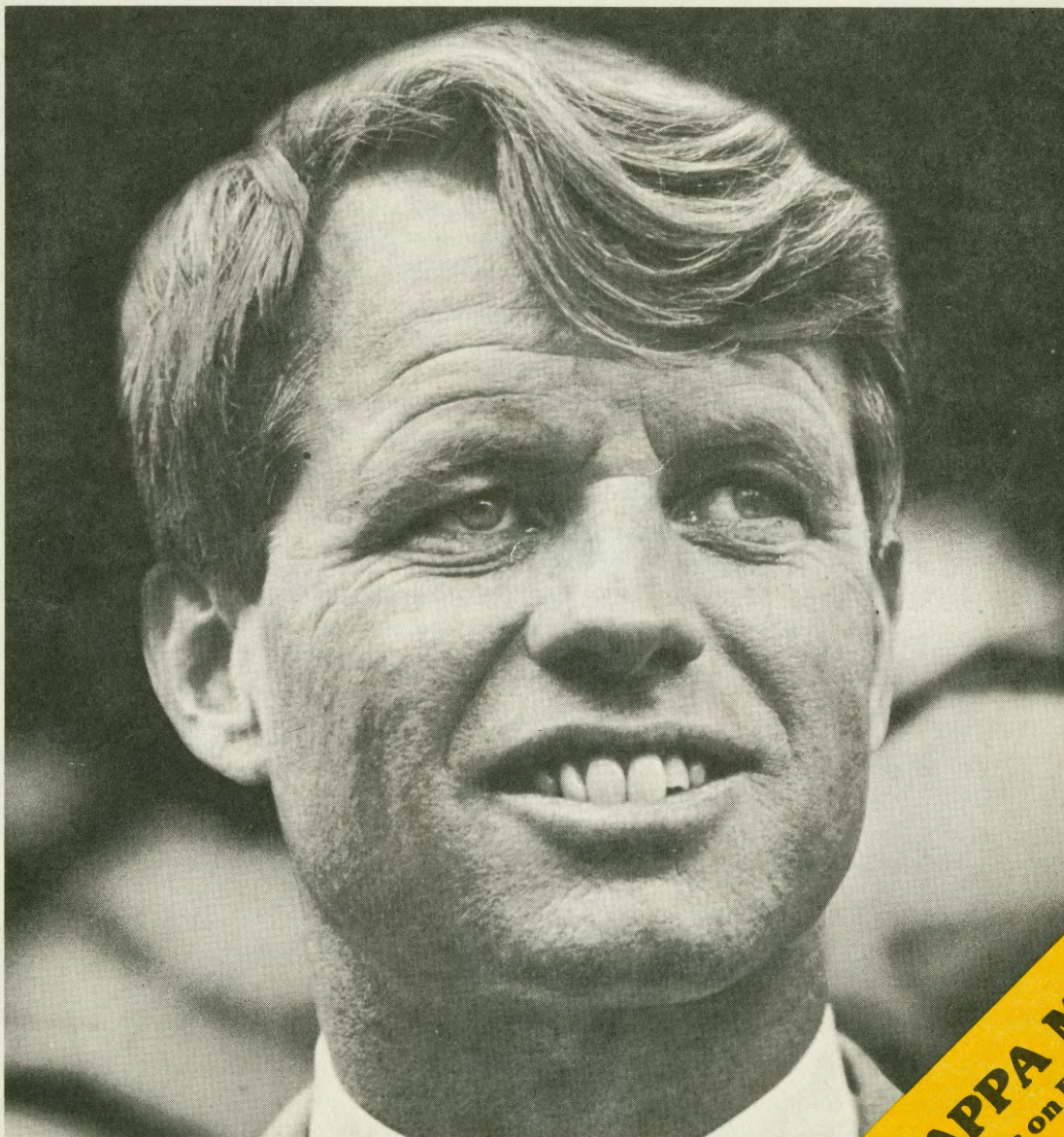
Volume V, Number 2

Summer-Autumn 1978



# *The Standard*

Successor To *The APPA Standard*



RFK  
(1925 - 1968)

**APIC-APPA MERGE!**  
Details on Page 14

# FROM THE PRESIDENT

*The following is a joint message from Robert A. Fratkin, APIC President and Donald L. Ackerman, outgoing APPA President on the current major change in our hobby and its import for the future.*

## A Joining of Forces

On August 11, 1978, six years of independent effort by the American Political Items Collectors and the Association for the Preservation of Political Americana ended in a merger of the two political items collectors groups. Each group had worked to serve its members and promote the hobby within the context of its available resources. The differences of approach on specific issues that led to the formation of APPA did not obscure this common purpose. As the years passed, changes in policies in both organizations and new realities in the hobby have led to an increased sharing of views.

Now, with a renewed sense of cooperation and unity, we hope to achieve added benefits for the entire hobby. The talents and resources of both organizations will be utilized to make the American Political Items Collectors a premier national hobby organization, one in which we can all take pride.

We are pleased, therefore, to present this first issue of **The APIC Standard**, the hobby's foremost historical publication. **The Standard** will stress worthwhile articles of general appeal while providing features for the varied specialty groups and interests of our membership. In all our publications (**The Standard**, **The Keynoter** Monthly Newsletter, and special supplements), we will endeavor to educate beginning, advanced, and specialist collectors, as well as attract new collectors to our ranks. We will explore collector alternatives and opportunities, expose fakes, provide continuous educational material through the APIC Library and Archives, and maintain a strong stance against collector buttons and other attempts to profiteer at the expense of our membership.

A strong hobby, represented by a respected organization, is our goal. With your continued support, we can attain this objective which we all so earnestly desire.

*Bob Fratkin*

*Don Ackerman*

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APIC seeks to encourage and support the study and preservation of original materials issuing from and relating to political campaigns of the United States of America, and to bring its members fuller appreciation and deeper understanding of the candidates and issues that form our political heritage.

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# THE APIC STANDARD

Published Quarterly

Volume V, Number 2

Summer-Autumn 1978

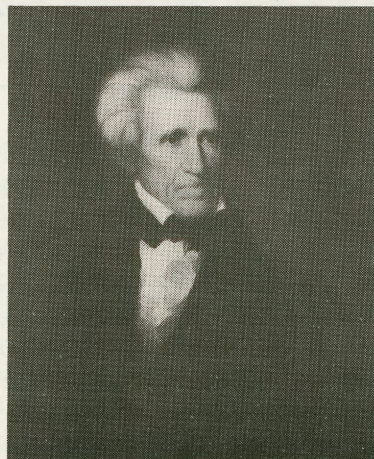
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Work has already begun on next year's issues of **The Standard**. If you would like to write an article, contact Associate Editor Harvey Goldberg for guidelines at: P.O. Box 922, Clark, New Jersey 07066.



## Next in *The Standard*

The Autumn-Winter issue of *The Standard* will feature an article by Richard S. West, former APPA President (1976-77) entitled "The Eagle and The Fox: The Great Political Partnership of Andrew Jackson and Martin Van Buren." Many unusual items will be pictured.

In the fall of 1967, Senator Kennedy of New York announced that under no circumstances would he be a candidate for the Presidency against Lyndon B. Johnson. His own candidacy, Kennedy felt, would tear the party apart, giving the Republicans and their frontrunner Richard Nixon, control of the government. Having announced this, Kennedy himself still appeared unconvinced. His deep concern about the Vietnam War, and the unrest among people at home manifested itself through an overriding sense of futility. He told the press "if I thought there was anything I could do, I would...."

The Johnson-Kennedy feud was as prominent as the war issue or racial unrest. In light of this relationship, much of RFK's issue-oriented criticism of the Johnson Administration was interpreted as an expression of their personality clash. The Senator was convinced that Johnson's policies at home and abroad were tearing the country apart. It was on these grounds rather than for private reasons that any challenge to the incumbent President would be based. The question was could Robert Kennedy run against LBJ on the issues, without having the effort viewed as a personal vendetta, splitting the Democratic Party, delivering the White House to the Republicans, and destroying his own career?

All things considered, Kennedy viewed it as being politically safer to stay out of the 1968 Presidential race and wait until 1972. However, there were those advisors who warned Bobby that his great public appeal, especially the carryover of feeling for his late brother, would not last indefinitely. When a "Citizens for Kennedy-Fulbright" committee was formed in New York, he wanted no part of it. He also turned down an offer to be a candidate for a "peace party". A canvass of the known anti-Johnson Democrats,

present staff members favored an all-out effort for '68. By the time of Eugene McCarthy's announcement at the end of November, Kennedy seemed to have dismissed thoughts of running, even though pressure from anti-war groups continued.

At a January 1968 breakfast with some of the Washington press corps, Senator Kennedy announced that he "had no plans to oppose Lyndon Johnson under any foreseeable circumstances". When he returned to his office, he received word of increased Vietcong activity throughout Vietnam: the Tet offensive had begun. Kennedy, already caught between his concern over the national tragedy of the Vietnam War and his judgement that a Presidential challenge at this point would be suicidal, was thrust into more indecision and soul-searching. There were unofficial polls showing Kennedy running ahead of or well against prospective Republican hopefuls in many states. He wavered back and forth. Should he stay out or get into the race? As the full-scale blood-letting in Vietnam continued, close friends could see a "gut desire" on Bobby's part to run. As Pierre Salinger recalled, "He was ready to go, but from the neck up it still didn't make sense". It would take something else to give Robert Kennedy the final push into the race.

In early March 1968, the President's Special Commission on Civil Disorders, headed by Governor Otto Kerner of Illinois, issued a report on the causes of the previous Summer's riots. The blame was placed on "white racism at the core of big city ghetto life". For Kennedy, this was the last straw. He could rationalize about the basic differences with Johnson on the war and still have supported him on domestic issues before the report came out. The following day a meeting of Kennedy's inner staff produced favorable polls in California, a primary important to any

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## ROBERT F. KENNEDY:

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including Senators McCarthy, McGovern, and Hartke, concluded that "Bobby should do it". Still, the Kennedy reaction was a flat "No!".

Inner pressure continued to force RFK into thinking seriously of a Presidential bid. Advisors and supporters only increased the difficulty of making a decision. Dead set against a 1968 campaign were Ted Kennedy, brother-in-law Stephen Smith, Ted Sorenson, Arthur Schlesinger, and other 1960 holdovers. Another group, some of Kennedy's old Justice Department associates, favored his candidacy. A third group of

success in achieving nomination. The sudden withdrawal of George Romney from the GOP race thrust Nixon into the lead, a thought which thoroughly embittered Robert Kennedy.

The New Hampshire primary was on March 12. A probable decision to run was made by Kennedy on March 7, but the announcement would wait until after New Hampshire. A McCarthy victory, or good showing, would show Johnson's vulnerability, demonstrate the President's weakness to Democratic leaders, and show - without Kennedy being involved - that the

*"I do not run merely to oppose any man, but to propose new policies."*



## THE LAST CAMPAIGN

party was already split. A report that President Johnson had requested an additional 200,000 troops for Vietnam did not sit well either. The results of the first primary gave McCarthy 42% against 49% for the incumbent President, and in separate voting gave the Minnesotan 20 of 24 delegates.

Four reasons for getting into the race now stared Robert Kennedy in the face: the party was already split on the war issue, so his candidacy could not be blamed; there was little indication of an Administration change in policy on Vietnam; New Hampshire

results indicated that Richard Nixon would probably be the GOP candidate, offering no hope of a Vietnam change; and Administration silence on the Kerner

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by Harvey E. Goldberg

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Report indicated no movement on the crisis in the cities. At 10 a.m. on March 16, 1968, Senator Robert F. Kennedy held a press conference in the Senate Office

Building stating:

"I am today announcing my candidacy for the Presidency of the United States. I do not run merely to oppose any man, but to propose new policies. I run because I am convinced that this country is on a perilous course...I run because it is clear that we can change these policies only by changing the men who make them..."

The primaries of Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts loomed ahead. Kennedy also said he would enter California's June 4 election as well as Nebraska and Oregon. The Senator continued to reiterate that his decision "reflects no personal animosity or lack of respect toward President Johnson; it is our profound differences over where we are heading." Robert Kennedy was beginning a segment of American political history unprecedented in its pace and intensity, unparalleled in its aroused ideals and potentials.

The Kennedy machine began moving instantly. Ted Kennedy looked into the problems of non-primary states. A research staff immediately began to pore over issues; a travelling campaign team was put together; a press committee was assembled; and contacts and campaign leaders were assigned in all areas of the country.

A Saint Patrick's Day parade in New York and another in Boston, and a campaign tour of Kansas marked the first day of the Kennedy campaign. The reception in New York could have been better, but, as expected the Boston parade was warm and supportive. Kansas came out in unexpected numbers to cheer the candidate. Three days later a trip into the South surprised everyone, when expected anti-Kennedy sentiment was overcome by large and friendly crowds in Atlanta, Tuscaloosa, and Nashville. Robert Kennedy appeared as a young and intense politician who drew support from everywhere.

A nine-day trip to the West Coast, Rockies, Midwest, and Southwest followed. California became a blur of airport landings, motorcades, speeches, more motorcades, and takeoffs. Kennedy had gone to college campuses, where audiences reacted with raw emotion. He took his campaign to the streets, where the reaction was called awesome and even frightening. The hard-hitting Vietnam issue produced continued support. The racial issue effected stronger emotions. And so it continued. The Kennedy staff pressured Bobby to quiet down a bit. The fired-up crowds were good morale boosters, but the long-range effects could be damaging, arousing the image of political demagogery. The need to appeal to the unseen millions of voters who did not show up for rallies and

parades became quickly apparent. Receptions in Washington and Oregon, in Idaho, Utah, Colorado, and Nebraska, as well as Arizona and New Mexico the following week, were subdued compared to California. Whether by design or not, a change came over the Kennedy campaign. Campus audiences were warm and enthusiastic, but after California, Bobby was relatively low-keyed on the war. His remarks were now made to be less "cute" and more to the point.

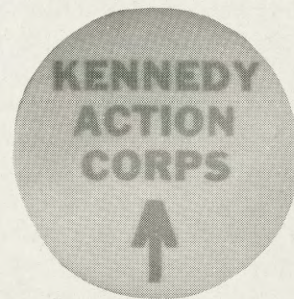
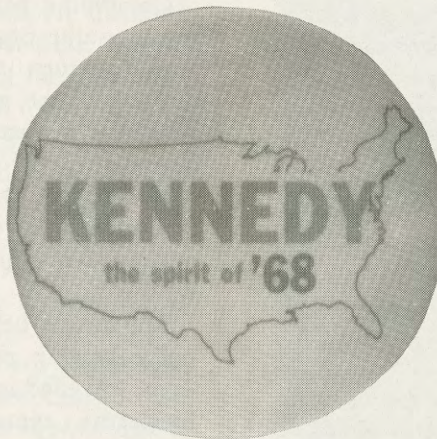
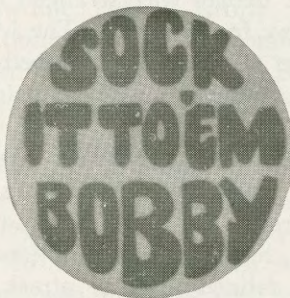
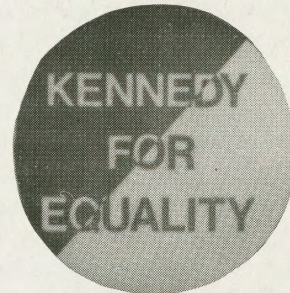
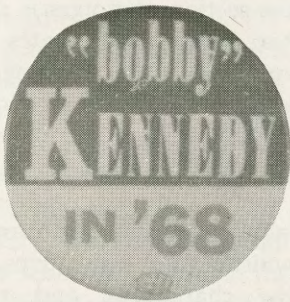
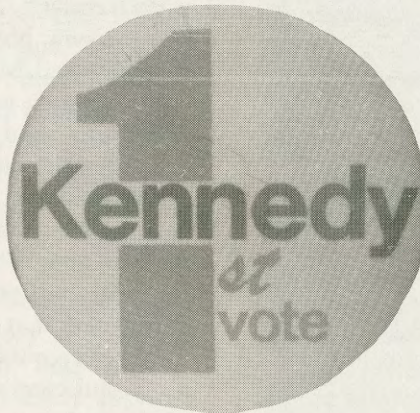
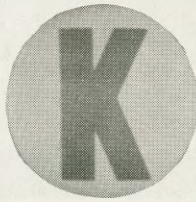
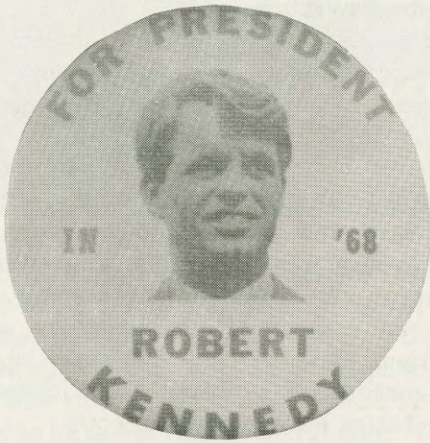
In the first fifteen days after his announcement, Robert Kennedy had crossed the country visiting 16 states with nearly 800 of the 1,312 delegate votes needed for a Democratic nomination. On March 31, while flying back to New York, the news came over the airways: President Johnson would not stand for re-election in November. "I wonder," Kennedy said, "if he'd have done this if I hadn't come in."

His strategy had to change. Other hopefuls, including Vice President Humphrey would be in the race. More importantly, what about an issue? The primary target of the Kennedy campaign had just stepped out of the line of fire. On write-ins two days later in the Wisconsin primary, Kennedy won 6% to Johnson's 34% and McCarthy's 56%.

Enroute to Indianapolis April 4, Kennedy again received some startling news: Martin Luther King, Jr., had been shot in Memphis. The campaign tour through which Kennedy was to proceed took him through the heart of the black areas of the city. Several advisors, as well as Ethel Kennedy, advised Bobby to cancel the stop. He refused. In an almost off-the-cuff speech to a mostly black audience, Kennedy spoke of the need for quelling bitterness, hatred, and desire for revenge. He took up King's position of understanding to replace violence, calling for the first time upon his brother's assassination to prove a point. The speech was a turning point in the Presidential campaign of Robert Kennedy. From this point, racial justice and reconciliation came to the forefront so much so that Vietnam became almost a subordinate issue.

The campaign resumed on a subdued note in Indiana April 10. For two weeks the Kennedy bandwagon rolled through West Virginia, Michigan, then off again to the Midwest and West Coast. Stops in non-primary states dotted the schedule as well. Then came two solid weeks back in Indiana leading up to the May 7 primary. Results: Kennedy 42% against 31% for a pro-Johnson slate and 27% for McCarthy. At the same time Kennedy's slate in the District of Columbia racked up 62.5% to Humphrey's 37.5%.

Nebraska. The first objective here was to eliminate McCarthy as a viable candidate, sending his supporters, hopefully, to the Kennedy camp to create a



one-on-one battle against Humphrey. However, Johnson remained a factor since his name was still on the ballot. Humphrey forces started a write-in campaign for the Vice President. It was in this campaign that the private Robert Kennedy showed himself, more so than any other state. The quiet, humorous, gentle side of the candidate came to the surface. The news came out that Ethel was expecting again, their eleventh child. The results showed RFK with 52%, McCarthy 31%, Johnson 5 1/2%, and Humphrey 8 1/2% on

## RFK REMEMBERED

by John R. Henigan

In the spring of 1968 Robert F. Kennedy came to a small Episcopal college in Kenosha, Wisconsin. The audience waited patiently in the auditorium, most curious, many awe struck. For my part, my emotions were somewhere between curiosity and awe, stimulated by the thought of seeing Robert Kennedy.

The speaker's platform was lined with folding chairs a few feet behind the wooden podium. The stage looked set for a high school graduation save for a huge cloth banner of J.F.K. behind the chairs and stage.

When the young senator from New York entered, the field house thundered with spontaneous applause. Bobby walked to the stage smiling shyly, clutching a folder. He took his seat to the left of the podium.

His speech was issue oriented; serious in mood and tone; punctuated occasionally with a pointed finger or a sweeping hand catching the mischievous lock of hair on his forehead. The audience sat politely, occasionally applauding, but most were spell-bound by his hauntingly familiar voice and manner.

After the speech, the applause was energized and stimulated by the awareness that Robert Kennedy was soon going to be leaving the field house. A few people seated near the senator moved gingerly toward the exit avoiding the impending crush of people trying to reach Senator Kennedy.

I worked my way to within ten feet and just observed the enthusiasm. Senator Ken-

[Continued on Page 18]

write-ins. Preparation began for Oregon and California. The crucial West Coast primaries would go a long way toward deciding the leading candidate at the opening of the convention.

The reception in Oregon was cool and restrained. Poor crowds, poor scheduling, poor advance work. After defeats in Indiana and Nebraska, McCarthy was supposed to fold. But he didn't. He came on strongly in Oregon, giving the Kennedy organization a challenge they did not calculate. The strong anti-Vietnam sentiments in this state went to McCarthy, whose people had been working since his announcement to win the Oregon vote. The strategy became to ignore McCarthy and concentrate on Humphrey and the Administration. McCarthy had his biggest showing: 45% to Kennedy's 39% followed by Johnson and Humphrey sharing the remainder of votes.

The apparent key to the Democratic nomination was the June 4 California winner-take-all primary, offering a prize of 174 delegates. A victory here coupled with strong support from his home state of New York, with 190 votes, would put Robert Kennedy in a very good position. Just winning in California wasn't enough, though, and Kennedy knew that. He had to win big. Again it was a 3-candidate race. Kennedy and McCarthy would split the anti-Administration and anti-war vote. Neither Johnson nor Humphrey had their names on the ballot, but a pro-Administration slate was running.

Campaigning in California is more like campaigning in a country than a state. Physical size alone is hard to overcome. The cross-section of voters is more like the national poll than most other states. It was considered that the candidate with a strong political base here would do well in a national election. For a successful candidacy, reaching all of the places and all of the voters was essential. The candidate had to be visible.

Combining personal appearances north and south, media saturation, whistle-stop train trips, and a partial return to the charismatic and emotional displays of the opening days of the campaign, Robert Kennedy covered California as it had not been campaigned before. A debate was arranged between Kennedy and McCarthy for June first. The Minnesotan treated the debate off-handedly. Kennedy crammed and kept up a harrowing pace of campaigning as well.

The debate between the two candidates began as a polite fencing match, with neither getting an edge. They travelled over ground both had covered before. McCarthy remained his usual unemotional self. Kennedy followed a defined plan of attack. While McCarthy was directing his comments to the televi-

[Continued on Page 19]

# ROBERT F. KENNEDY:

## *The Senator From New York*

by Harvey E. Goldberg

As the blinding grief of John Kennedy's death turned to a muted but still painful memory, Robert Kennedy, very much the author of his brother's 1960 campaign, gave thought to the upcoming campaign and the almost sure election of Lyndon Johnson as President. A desire to be part of this gnawed at him. Why not the Vice Presidency? From this point he most certainly would be able to keep his late brother's policies alive to a certain extent. The desire turned slowly to a need, the need to stay in government, to retain the power of which he had a taste in 1960.

In the late summer of 1964 President Johnson called Attorney General Robert Kennedy to the White House. Very quickly and with little tact, Johnson informed Kennedy that he had given him consideration as a possible running mate and considered it inadvisable; would Kennedy publically announce that he was no longer interested in the position? Kennedy's response set the tone for the entire RFK-LBJ relationship that was to continue as a feud unabated until Kennedy's death.

There was one last hope. The convention might well be stampeded, by the still-fresh memory of John F. Kennedy, into forcing, through an outburst of emotion, the nomination of Robert Kennedy as Vice President. But this was not to be. LBJ was fully aware of the JFK memorial film to be presented, and fully aware of the emotional potential it held. He therefore ordered a schedule change for the convention. Instead of being shown on the second night of the gathering, the film would be shown on the fourth night - after he had designated his choice of a running mate.

Meanwhile, Peter J. Crotty, chairman of the Erie (NY) County Democratic Committee announced that President Johnson's action left Bobby "available for a draft" as a candidate for the Senate from New York. Crotty, along with the Nassau (NY) County leader John English, had polled voters to find that only the Attorney General could beat incumbent Republican Kenneth Keating. Kennedy had not discouraged their efforts. In fact, he had even sent his brother-in-law Stephen Smith into New York for an exploratory tour on his behalf.

At the end of July, 1964, Bobby and the family spent a weekend at Hyannisport, where most of his time was

taken up in conference with old friends, including Averall Harriman, Dave Hackett, and Arthur Schlesinger Jr., whose dislike for Lyndon Johnson exceeded even Bobby Kennedy's. One insider reported bluntly that "this was a marriage of necessity; They need a candidate who can win, and Bobby wants to stay in government".

Charles Buckley, political boss of the Bronx, started working to secure the nomination for Robert Kennedy. One of the problems was the reform faction of the New York Democratic Party. They looked upon Kennedy as a "carpetbagger" and as being too conservative. Most of them wanted Adlai Stevenson as their nominee, even though the U.N. Ambassador had not made up his mind. Sensing a large roadblock in their path, Kennedy forces tried to get the reluctant Stevenson to announce his support of Bobby. His reaction was one of anger and a renewed interest in a candidacy of his own. However, by the time Mayor Wagner of New York City got around to asking Stevenson whether he wanted to become a candidate, Stevenson said no, he did not wish to become involved as a "stop Kennedy candidate".

Even now Robert Kennedy hesitated. "Kennedy for Senator" groups had surfaced throughout New York. Bobby was shown statewide polls to prove that he could beat Keating. Tally sheets showed almost a clean sweep in delegates at the upcoming New York Democratic Convention. His only opposition came from Mayor Wagner. Wagner knew that RFK in the Senate would be the end of his own hold over the State Democratic Party. Also, Wagner was a strong Johnson supporter and realized that to support Kennedy would be akin to working with the "bosses", which he wanted no part of. Finally, Wagner had a feeling that a Kennedy victory would eventually prevent the mayor from running for Governor.

At this point, Adam Clayton Powell, Harlem's Reverend Congressman, announced his endorsement and support for Kennedy, stating that he had suggested three months earlier that RFK run. Additional support came from Alex Rose and David Dubinsky, the Liberal leaders. A long list of prominent and wealthy liberals formally endorsed the Attorney General. Behind the scenes, reform anti-Kennedy

people split badly and were unable to find a candidate of their own.

At a press conference, Robert Kennedy announced loudly and clearly that under no circumstances would he come into New York without the "expressed approval of Mayor Wagner". Wagner replied cagily, "If he is available, he is the type of person who would make an exceptionally fine candidate ...", still not giving endorsement or support. A hot and livid anti-Kennedy campaign came from the *New York Times*, the Reform Democratic Party, and pro-Johnson people. The issue was that RFK was using New York as a stepping stone, and that "Mr. Kennedy needs New York, but does New York really need Bobby Kennedy?"

Finally, after much arm-twisting, cajoling, etc. in late August, Mayor Robert Wagner begrudgingly gave a feeble and hardly enthusiastic endorsement. On

September 1, 1964, Robert F. Kennedy was nominated by the Democratic Party of New York for the office of United States Senator. The convention tally was Kennedy 968 votes, Samuel S. Stratton, William Fitts Ryan, and several other hopefuls, 193.

Just prior to the New York Convention, at the Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City, New Jersey, President Johnson and Hubert H. Humphrey were nominated as expected. The still diehard RFK backers gave Bobby their votes for Vice President, but it was cut and dried. The following day, however, an emotion-packed scene unfolded. Jacqueline Kennedy made an appearance on the podium with Robert at her side. She said little, but received a loud ovation. When Robert Kennedy was introduced, a sixteen minute demonstration surged through the hall. Shouts of "WE WANT BOBBY!" resounded. As he began to speak, RFK thanked the delegates for all they

## BOBBY'S CAMPAIGNERS:

*For eighty-five days, Robert F. Kennedy was the spearhead of a Presidential campaign unmatched in its glamour and excitement. Surrounded by some of the brightest and brashest political strategists available, RFK made a strong bid for the 1968 Democratic nomination. What happened to the men who organized and ran this extraordinary campaign? Where are they now? Well . . .*

- Jerry Bruno, often called the best advance man in politics, scouted for both John Kennedy and then Bobby. After the second Kennedy assassination, Bruno settled in Syracuse where he opened his own political promotion company. Now residing in Albany, Jerry Bruno is deputy commissioner of New York's state lottery. He recently started his daughter in politics when she debuted as an advance agent for Carey's gubernatorial campaign.
- Frederick Dutton, an RFK counselor and liaison between the "kiddy corps" of young speechwriters and the older group of experienced old hands, is a Washington-based lawyer. He says that "politics seem much less compelling to me today", and is happy to be back in private life.
- Jeff Greenfield, another Yalie, wrote liberal speeches for RFK. Shortly after the assassination he

went to work for John Lindsay, but later resigned to write a book on rock music. Following this came another book about the N.B.A.'s Boston Celtics. Greenfield still choreographs campaigns in his position with a New York political consulting firm.

● "They were good times and we didn't realize how soon they would end," says Frank Mankiewicz, Bobby Kennedy's press secretary. When they did end, Mankiewicz teamed up with journalist Tom Branden to write a syndicated Washington column. He took off time to act as McGovern's chief strategist in the '72 campaign, after which he clearly stated his anti-Nixon views in a pair of books: *Nixon from Whittier to Watergate*, and *U.S. vs Richard Nixon: The Final Crisis*.

● Kennedy's campaign manager, Lawrence O'Brien, runs his own management-consulting firm in New York and Washington. He served as Hubert Humphrey's campaign manager after Kennedy's death, resumed his post as Democratic National Chairman, and joined the McGovern campaign as an advisor in 1972. O'Brien is still stunned by the Kennedy assassinations and the events growing out of Watergate. He is currently the National Basketball Association's Commissioner.

● Pierre Salinger, former JFK press secretary and

had done for President Kennedy, and read a quote from Shakespeare. He then introduced the twenty-minute documentary film about his late brother. Between Bobby's presence and the film of John Kennedy, the emotions flowed openly from the delegates. "A convention totally dominated by Lyndon Johnson," reported one delegate chairman, "had been captured by a Kennedy". This was perhaps Bobby Kennedy's greatest moment. He had turned a convention of politicians - the old and cynical, the young and ambitious - into an emotion-filled mass, putty in his hands.

Before the Senate campaign began, Bobby had to officially resign as Attorney General. There was the usual exchange of letters. Kennedy wrote how sorry he was to be leaving the Johnson Cabinet, and the President replied with his regrets at losing such a fine and helpful advisor. Nobody believed a word of it.

The next day former Attorney General Kennedy was back in New York to launch a whirlwind campaign throughout the Empire State. To some it appeared that it was not Robert Kennedy who was running, but John. Techniques were familiar to those who had witnessed the 1960 Presidential Campaign. A high-powered machine turned a Senatorial race into a kind of mass hysteria. Bobby did not have to speak, he didn't even have to discuss issues. He merely presented himself to crowds and they went wild. The newspapers tried to make a contest out of it, but the public wasn't interested.

Kenneth Keating's refusal to endorse or reject Barry Goldwater played into the Kennedy strategy. Failure to align himself with his own party cost Keating the support of many conservatives. Kennedy's speeches had all the answers to Keating's charges - not in facing the issues, but with quips, quotes, and the ever-present

# WHERE ARE THEY NOW?

by Harvey E. Goldberg & Herb S. Shemwell

Robert F. Kennedy campaign advisor in 1968, is currently president of the Gramco Development Corporation, after presiding as the international affairs advisor for Continental Airlines. A trustee of the Robert Kennedy Memorial Foundation, Salinger makes his home in Beverly Hills, California, from where he was appointed to the U.S. Senate in 1965, only to lose a bid for his own term. The Kennedy stalwart has published two books, *With Kennedy* (1966) and *A Tribute to Robert F. Kennedy* in 1968, and has another in the works: *An Honorable Profession*, about RFK.

• **Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.**, another of the JFK old guard who went with Robert Kennedy, is currently a trustee for the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, a founding trustee for the Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Foundation, and a member of the board of directors for both the John F. Kennedy and Harry S. Truman Libraries. A prolific and Pulitzer Prize winning author, Schlesinger is currently a professor of the humanities at a New York university, works for many facets of the media, contributing articles to magazines and newspapers, reviewing films, and has recently completed a major biography on Robert F. Kennedy to be published shortly: *Robert F.*

*Kennedy and His Times.*

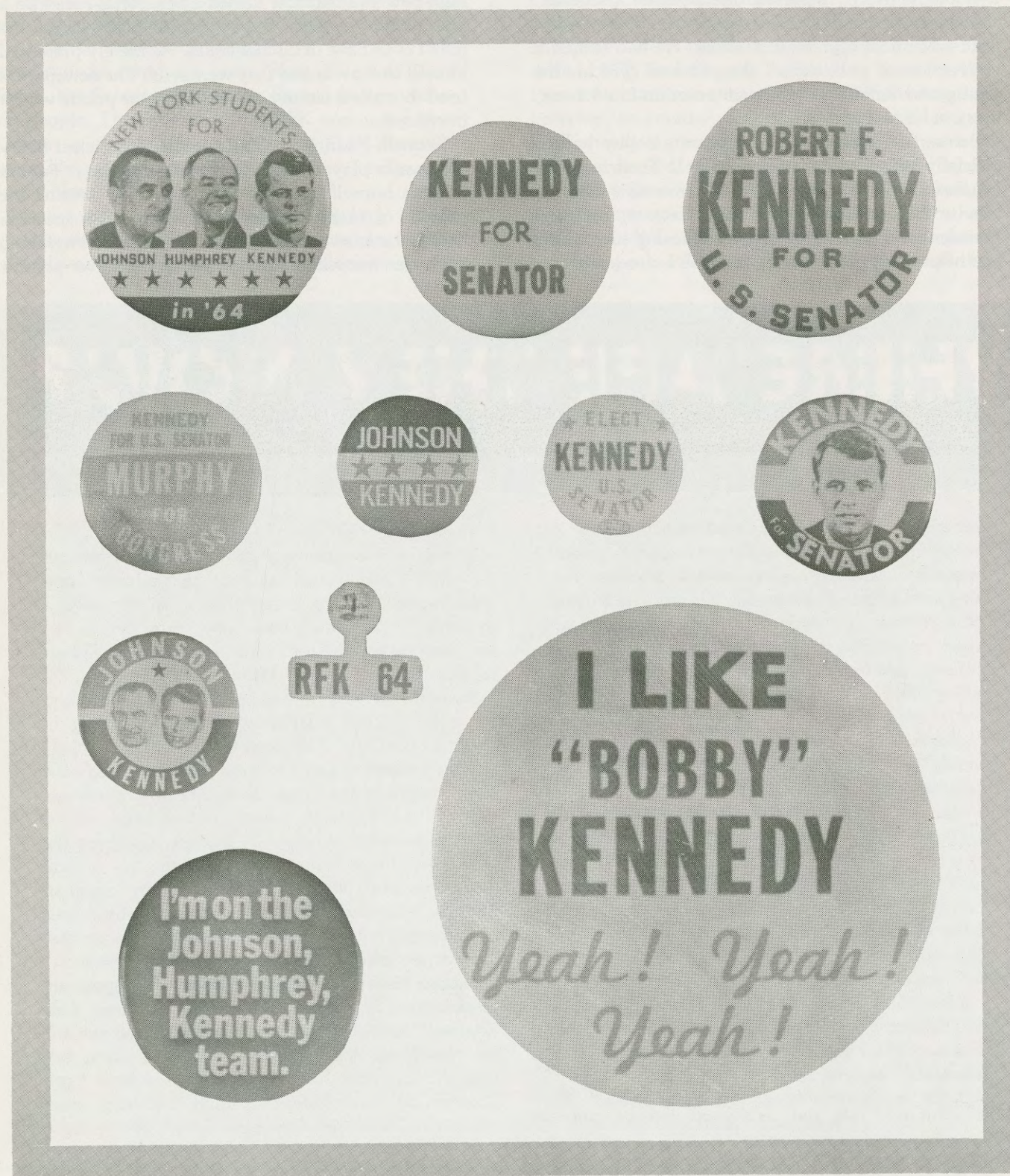
• **Theodore Sorensen**, one of the JFK holdovers on the RFK staff, both a personal advisor and speechwriter, among other things, is currently a member of a New York law firm. From its founding in 1969 he became a trustee of the Robert F. Kennedy Memorial. From 1971 through 1973 Sorensen was a commentator on national affairs for a New York television network. Residing in New York City, the former John and Robert Kennedy campaigner is now involved in the development of the Megar Evers Memorial Foundation.

• Transportation director **Dick Tuck** has spent the years since the '68 campaign freelancing for several magazines and giving talks on the role of humor in politics. When he wasn't arranging for motorcades or campaign trips, Tuck was often pulling pranks. He was the joker of the Kennedy campaigners.

• **Adam Walinsky** was the young Yale graduate responsible for most of Kennedy's new Left Rhetoric. In 1970 the former speechwriter ran for the New York State Attorney General's office, but lost. At this time he is a partner in a New York law firm. Walinsky keeps his hand in politics as an advisor to New York Governor Carey. 🐾

crowd reactions wherever he went. Some reporters likened the squealing mobs to the hysterical outbursts which surrounded Elvis Presley, Frank Sinatra, and other show-business idols. Everywhere the Kennedy campaign went it was like a triumphal procession.

To hear Kennedy speak, one would think Keating had opposed every humane measure that came before the Senate. Accusations took the place of issues on both sides. It was becoming an out-and-out popularity contest, and Kennedy was winning.



Toward the end of the campaign, there occurred an incident which earned Robert Kennedy the label of "ruthless". CBS-TV had asked both Keating and Kennedy to take part in a half-hour live debate. Keating accepted but Kennedy ducked the issue, claiming there was a lack of format for such a show. His aides made it known that Bobby would not appear. Keating took advantage of the situation, buying the 7:30-8:00 half hour to "debate Kennedy's empty chair". Upon hearing this, Kennedy bought the 8:00-8:30 time to respond to Keating. Suddenly, one minute before Keating was to go on the air, Kennedy

burst into the studio, and "informed Senator Keating that he was here and ready to debate". Studio officials wouldn't allow any interruptions, and the charges came out that "Keating had barred Kennedy from debating".

By this time, however, the campaign had become a "family affair" for the Kennedys. His sisters Jean, Pat, and Eunice toured New York State, as did Mrs. Rose Kennedy. Bobby himself appeared at a Bronx rally leading John-John, President Kennedy's little son. Raw

[Continued on Page 19]

## NOW AND THEN

### A CASE OF BEGINNER'S LUCK

by C. W. Fishbaugh

*We are very pleased to welcome C.W. Fishbaugh to our staff of regular contributors. "C.W." has published Political Americana magazine for over 20 years. If you would like to subscribe to Political Americana contact him at: Box 308, Shenandoah, Iowa 51601.*

Everything begins with a first step. My first step on the road to collecting politicals was during the latter part of 1952, while our family was vacationing not far from Jefferson City, Missouri.

My wife, an avid collector of leaf pattern china, made a point of stopping at various antique shops wherever we went. My hobby at the time was collecting coins. At one particular place, I wandered around while she talked with the owner. I noticed a few political pins and although I was looking for coins, I became intrigued by one of the items. It was a silver-like nugget suspended from an upper pin holder. On the nugget was the name "Bryan", on the top piece "16-1".

I thought to myself that I'd always been interested in politics, so why not pick up a few of these items? Upon being asked the price of the Bryan item, the owner asked me in return "would 50 cents be alright?" I said this was fine and mentioned that I might like the three regular pinbacks he had there, one of which I'd noticed was a "Silver Dick" Bland pin. This trio of

pins I purchased for \$1.00.

From this point on, whenever we stopped at an antique shop I would ask about political pins. Most of the time I would get a shrug of the shoulder, a blank stare - as if I were some kind of nut, or the oft-repeated "I had some but sold them just the other day..."

So now I had an interest in collecting politicals, but nowhere to go. The 1952 election had come and gone, so current items were not easily found. I had no idea of where to go for sales lists or auctions such as we had in coin collecting circles. Returning from vacation, I scrutinized back issues of *Hobbies Magazine* for ads or sources. The only thing I could find were a scant few sources for "Americana".

I wrote in response to these ads and received from one dealer a sampling of items on approval. Most were paper items with only a minute connection to politics, but there were included a couple of pins and a "Gold Bug" with pictures of McKinley and Hobart on the wings. The asking price for the bug was \$10.00 which I felt was high for so small an object. I wrote back offering \$7.50, and it was accepted.

By this time I was eager to continue collecting politicals, and I have been doing so ever since. Times have changed, prices have soared, and the hobby has grown tremendously. But I am sure I will always vividly remember my first steps and my beginner's luck. It seems many collectors come across a great "find" sooner or later. I guess I had mine way back in the beginning. 🐞



## APIC-APPA MERGE!

Just prior to our national convention in St. Louis, the long and tireless efforts on the part of the leadership of both APIC and APPA resulted in a successful merger of the two organizations. The driving force behind the idea of combining the groups was to better provide for the members and for the entire hobby. Improvement in services, representation, publications, and efficiency will be our immediate objectives.

Terms of the agreement are:

- The newly merged organization will be called the American Political Items Collectors (APIC). The present APIC Constitution and By-Laws will remain in effect pending a scheduled revision by constitutional committee.
- The new APIC quarterly publication will be called *The Standard*. This magazine, to be issued on a regular basis, will continue along the same lines established by *The APPA Standard*. Historical features, educational articles, interviews, worthy news items, and

matters of importance to all our members will provide the basis for the continuance and improvement of this publication. In addition, a monthly newsletter, to be published as *The Keynoter*, will appear in *The Political Collector*. Calendars of events, chapter news and information, etc. will keep the membership up-to-date on all activities. Any APIC members who do not currently subscribe to *The Political Collector* may wish to do so by writing: Susan Krebs - Editor, 503 Madison Avenue, York, Pennsylvania 17404. The one-year rate is currently \$4.50.

- The combined APIC-APPA Roster will be issued shortly. In addition to the normal roster material, this edition will offer a history of APIC and APPA. The roster is being redesigned so that additions, address changes, etc. can easily be made, keeping it up-to-date at all times.

- Due to the merger, those who were members of both organizations will receive a small reduction on 1979 dues owing to the overlap of services previously paid for.

- With the completion of the merger, James G. Kahler (Editor-in-Chief of *The Standard*) and Donald L. Ackerman (outgoing President of APPA) will assume seats on the APIC Board of Directors.

- The Byram, Connecticut, Chapter of APPA will be designated the APPA Chapter, and will continue its regular meetings at the Byram Veteran's Clubhouse. In addition, the APPA Chapter will sponsor a yearly APIC Eastern Regional meeting in the New York Metropolitan area, during late November or early December.

In combining APIC and APPA, we sincerely hope to provide our members, and the hobby, with the best of both organizations. In the next few months we will be actively trying to improve all services that APIC offers. However, nothing will be accomplished without your help. The most important key to success in this venture is communication. If we do not hear from you, we cannot know what your immediate needs may be.

## 1978 NATIONAL CONVENTION: AN EVENT TO REMEMBER

The recently concluded 1978 APIC National Convention in St. Louis will be long remembered by those fortunate enough to attend. Hundreds of collectors from all over the country were there. More than 200 tables were sold for the bourse. Many of the well-know dealers in the hobby attended, as well as several that we have missed in previous years. With few excep-

Most of the major mail-auctioneers were present, as were collectors from coast-to-coast. There was excellent representation for the specialty chapters, and what

would appear to have been one of the best turnouts ever for a national gathering.

Collectors were provided with



A corner of the display area.

endless tables of celluloids, ribbons, lithos, posters, and unusual items to look over. The bourse activity was intense and continuous. Everything from the most common litho to the illusive Cox-Roosevelt jugate was available. Such extreme rarities as a Lincoln ribbon, Davis-Bryan oval jugate, Bell-Everett uniside ferrotype in addition to the Cox-Roosevelt changed hands on the floor. A noticeable trend toward the pre-1896 items was evident, coupled with a decline in the popularity of current presidential items.

The auction provided quite a

## EASTERN REGIONAL SET FOR DECEMBER 8-9, 1978

The APPA Chapter will host its annual Eastern Regional Convention (formerly the APPA National Convention) on December 8-9, 1978. The convention will be held at the Airport Holiday Inn, in Newark, New Jersey. The Inn is conveniently located directly across the road from Newark International Airport, outside the city. The Inn offers excellent facilities, a ballroom for the bourse, a fine lounge and restaurant, and an indoor swimming pool.

At our 1977 convention, we had a very large attendance, a very extensive and outstanding representation of the major dealers in the hobby, and a really good gathering for all who attended.

We will be offering a different setup than the normal routine this time. A Friday evening setup will be provided starting at 5 p.m. on the 8th, with security provided - eliminating the bother of removing and resetting your tables. An all-day

bourse on the 9th, will be followed by an auction to top off the convention.

Table rental has been set at \$15.00. Contact the APPA Chapter at: P.O. Box 211, Forest Hills, New York 11375 to reserve yours. Make plans now to attend. Dealers will have a chance to offer their end-of-the-year sales, and collectors will have an opportunity to get themselves an early Christmas present or two.

## NEW PUBLICATIONS STAFF ANNOUNCED

After 15 years as editor of *The Keynoter*, Chick Harris has "retired". APIC thanks Chick and his staff for their service to the newsletter over the years. We are pleased to announce that Chick will remain active as APIC's Historian.

Our new editor, Jim Kahler, will formulate, edit, design, and layout materials for articles and photographic displays. He will provide us with a magazine, *The Standard*, of quality in appearance and content. Harvey E. Goldberg has been

named the Associate Editor. *The Keynoter* newsletter will be under the guidance of Trudy L. Mason. A publications board will be named soon. Look for an announcement in either *The Keynoter* or *The Standard*.



3½" Red, white and blue button.

number of fine items and much spirited bidding. Again rare and common pieces were offered. Prices were reasonable yet the truly scarce items commanded prices equal to their real values. A number of donated items received unusually high bids, including a specific "donation bid" of more than \$500.00. For this the APIC is most appreciative.

A number of exhibits offered convention goers much more than a

buy-sell-trade gathering. The display of Chick Harris' collection covered everything from George Washington to the present, with many of the items never before seen by most in attendance. Our thanks to Chick for sharing these fantastic items with us. In addition, a very fine McKinley-Bryan exhibit by Norm Loewenstern, as well as a comprehensive Woman's Suffrage display by Frank Corbeil, and the excellent Harry S. Truman Chapter exhibit gave everyone something to see and remember.

According to everyone who attended, this was a smoothly run national convention. Special thanks must be given to the Gateway-to-the-West Chapter for all their work and effort in setting up and hosting the convention.

**TELL A FRIEND  
ABOUT APIC**

## CONVENTION '79 - IT'S SAN FRANCISCO

The 1979 APIC National Convention will be held in the downtown Hilton Hotel in the heart of San Francisco on August 9, 10, 11.



2¼" Blue and black button.

The hotel is near everything you will want or need - outstanding restaurants, the cable cars, Union Square, and the theaters.

The convention will feature: a 10,000 square-foot bourse area, elaborate displays, auctions, a banquet with a major political figure as the featured speaker, forums, and specialty club meetings.

If you want further information, contact either Fred Jorgensen, 3326 Montgomery Drive, Santa Rose, California 95405 or John Stanton, 530 Yosemite Avenue, Mountain View, California 94041.

**Don't Miss San Francisco**

## THE LOCAL REPORT

by Leon A. McPherson, Jr.

The once-brief quadrennial Presidential Sweepstakes apparently is becoming a 2-year marathon. Jimmy Carter's 1974 beginning for the 1976 election has spawned an even earlier start to the 1980 race.

On August 2, 1978 Representative Philip M. Crane (R-12th Congressional District) of Illinois became the first formal candidate for the 1980 Presidential election. Crane made his announcement 19 months before the first 1980 primary, and more than two years before Election Day.

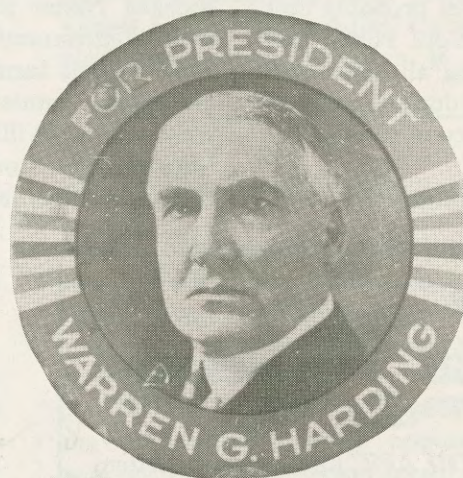
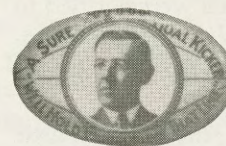
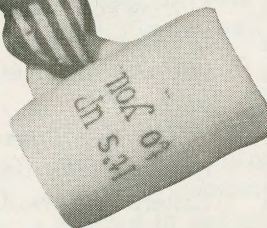
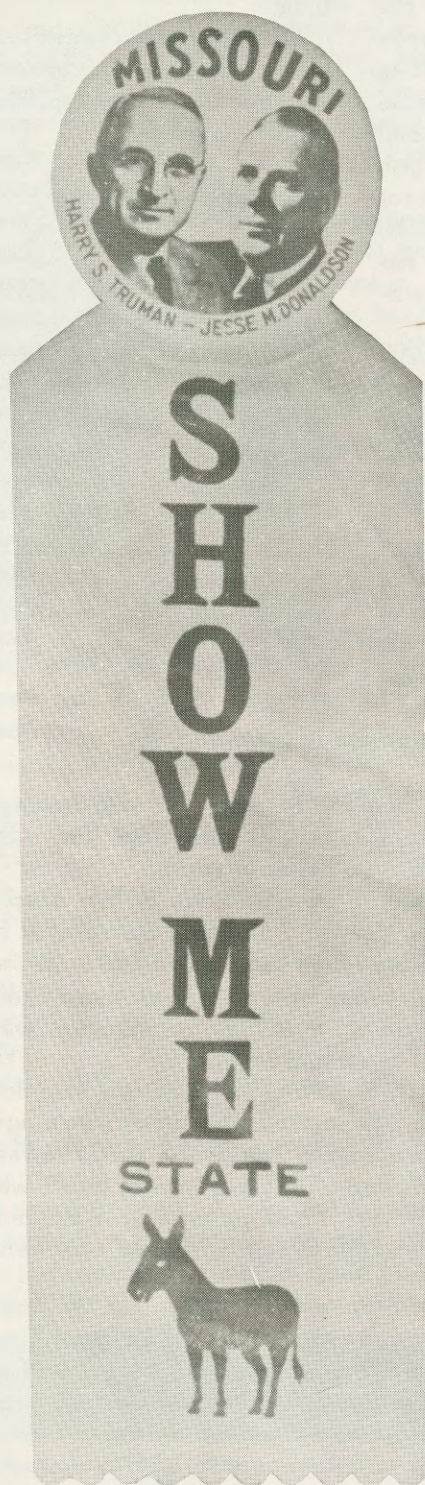
The 12th Congressional District of Illinois is more or less a descendant of the old 13th District (now held by Robert McClory (R) - of the House Judiciary Committee fame) which also included all of what is now the 10th District (held by Abner Mikva (D)). The old 12th District was represented by Donald Rumsfeld, who became Gerald Ford's Secretary of Defense.

Crane is a former professor at Peoria's Bradley University and an early supporter of Barry Goldwater in 1964 and of Ronald Reagan in 1976.

Crane has stated that he would campaign in all 36 primaries, but for now would concentrate on the early races in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Florida.

He seems to be following the example of President Carter, who was almost unknown, and who started early. During his announcement address Crane stated "lacking the name identification that some of the other prospective candidates have requires getting in early to attempt to close the gap before they might make a formal declaration." Crane also added that his 12th

[Continued on Page 18]



Pictured here are some of the more interesting items to show up at the National. All items pictured actual size except the Harding which is 6".

## The Local Report

[Continued from Page 16]

District constituents were entitled to know his plans before this November (1978), when he is up for re-election.

The candidates ready to do battle for the Republican nomination can be placed into three groups — "The Old Boys", "The Challengers", and the "New Boys". The Old Boys consist of Ronald Reagan and Former President Gerald Ford. Reagan, who at 68, is Crane's senior by 20 years will make age an issue by his presence. Ford wants a role in heading off Reagan, whose strong race in the primaries probably cost him the 1976 election. Ford's role could be supporting all candidates except Reagan (but don't count Ford out of the possibility of running for office again.)

The Challengers consist of Sena-

tor Howard Baker of Tennessee, who is returning to the Senate Minority leadership in January of 1979; former Secretary of the Treasury — John Connally, who has plenty of money and a strong Texas base; 1976 Vice Presidential candidate Robert Dole, who is still suffering from his cut-and-slash campaign that the party blames for hurting Ford in 1976; and ex-C.I.A. Director George Bush, who has imposing credentials and few enemies.

The New Boys consist of ex-Astronaut Frank Borman, who heads Eastern Airlines; General Alexander Haig, who it is thought navigated Richard Nixon through his final days; Representative Jack Kemp of New York, a former football star; Governors James Thompson of Illinois and William Milliken of Michigan; Senator Lowell Weicker of Connecticut; and Senator Paul

Laxalt of Nevada — would all come on the scene if Reagan (or even Ford) looked like they were stumbling.

Crane's announcement beat them all. Now, with the ice broken, there are sure to be more splashes very soon.

*Are you a member of ALPIC? If you would like to join, contact Preston Malcolm at: 37 Brown Avenue, McDonough, Georgia 30253. And if you have any items or buttons of local interest for this column, please contact me at: 3418 88th Street, Kenosha, Wisconsin 53140. We need your help to make this column a huge success.*

## Political Collector

FEATURING THE APIC Keynoter Newsletter

PUBLISHED MONTHLY SINCE 1971, **POLITICAL COLLECTOR** FEATURES ARTICLES AND DISPLAYS AND CLASSIFIED ADVERTISING COVERING ALL ASPECTS OF THE HOBBY. AN INVALUABLE SOURCE OF INFORMATION AND MATERIAL FOR BEGINNERS AND ADVANCED COLLECTORS ALIKE. ONLY \$4.50 YR. (12 ISSUES). SKEPTICS MAY ORDER A SAMPLE COPY FOR 50 CENTS.

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## RFK Remembered [Continued from Page 8]

nedy was bending to reach for out-stretched arms and hands. He went to one knee and signed his name to bits and pieces of paper.

This close, I observed clearly the deep etched wrinkles on Kennedy's face and marveled at how his hair was more ashen than brown and quite long. But who could forget the smile and those thoughtful, almost sorrowful eyes. The combination was overwhelming; he was an enigma.

He was then ushered away out the side door exit. I followed just behind the mass watching Bobby shake more hands before he drove away from Carthage College. That was the last time I would see him. I only wish I had gotten a little closer to him, just close enough to touch him the way he touched me. ☹

## CHAPTER NEWS

To provide up-to-date material in *The Standard* and *The Keynoter*, we need to hear from all specialty and geographical chapters regularly. Chapter Report Forms will be sent to all secretaries in the next few weeks. These forms must be returned to us by the first of the month.

## The Last Campaign [Continued from Page 8]

sion audience at large, Kennedy was speaking to Californians. In the end, Kennedy had achieved his goals: to put across his knowledge of all the facets of Presidential responsibility, to enhance his position by showing McCarthy's regional limitations. Instead of showing up the younger candidate as a lightweight, McCarthy came across almost as if he were totally unconcerned with the event.

Election Day, June 4, 1968. Campaign-wise the first easy day in almost four months. Not much could be done until the results started to come in. Most of the Kennedy family turned out on the beach at Malibu for swimming and a game of touch football. By 6:30 p.m. Senator Kennedy was dressed and ready to leave for the Ambassador Hotel, his central headquarters. The polls would close at 8 p.m. An earlier report had good news: South Dakota had given Kennedy a 50% to 30% victory over McCarthy. Scattered results began to filter into the Ambassador, showing a probable victory. A scheduled TV interview with CBS's Roger Mudd and another with NBC's Sander Vanocur interrupted the growing gaiety. As time wore on toward midnight, it became more and more apparent that Kennedy had won. The question was how big?

At 11:45 p.m., the Senator and his immediate staff began to work their way to the main ballroom, crowded with campaign workers, staff, well-wishers, and friends. After a short but very effective victory speech, the group departed from the ballroom to attend a press conference followed by a victory party. Final results gave Kennedy a 47% to 41% win over McCarthy.

Entering the kitchen corridor, Kennedy, along with reporters, cameramen, and others, proceeded toward the press room. A reporter asked him how he was going to overcome the Vice President's apparent delegate strength. Kennedy replied "It just goes back to the struggle for..."

He never finished. A dark little man stepped out from behind an ice machine and fired a revolver from three feet behind Kennedy's head. One shot was followed by six others. Other people were shot. Robert Kennedy fell on his back to the floor. It was 12:13 a.m. Pacific time. As the assailant was wrestled to the ground, Ethel Kennedy, who had been behind her husband, knelt at his side and said a quiet whisper "Oh, my God." No tears or hysterics; it was not the Kennedy way. At 1:45 a.m. on June 6, 1968, Robert Kennedy died, despite extensive surgery to save his life. One reporter wept and said "it was like watching a horror movie for the second time".

Had Robert Kennedy lived, the time between primaries and convention would have seen a flurry of

activity on a scale unseen since the time of Roosevelt and Willkie. Whereas McCarthy used this time to little advantage, Kennedy already had a plan at the time of his death, with little letup from the rugged primary schedule. An all-out two week effort in New York had been planned, with a full assault on the non-primary states as well. A massive television effort would have plastered the candidate's image throughout the country repeatedly. There were to have been outright confrontations with Hubert Humphrey, even debates with the Vice President. With pre-convention tactics going well, Kennedy would still have faced a difficult task in Chicago. But he might have succeeded. In the chaos of the 1968 convention, the search for an alternative to Humphrey most probably would have turned to Kennedy. In a Nixon-Robert Kennedy campaign, the winner would have been selected in the city votes. Speculation and guesswork alone can determine what might have been. For Robert F. Kennedy and for "Camelot", this may well have been the Last Campaign. 🐾

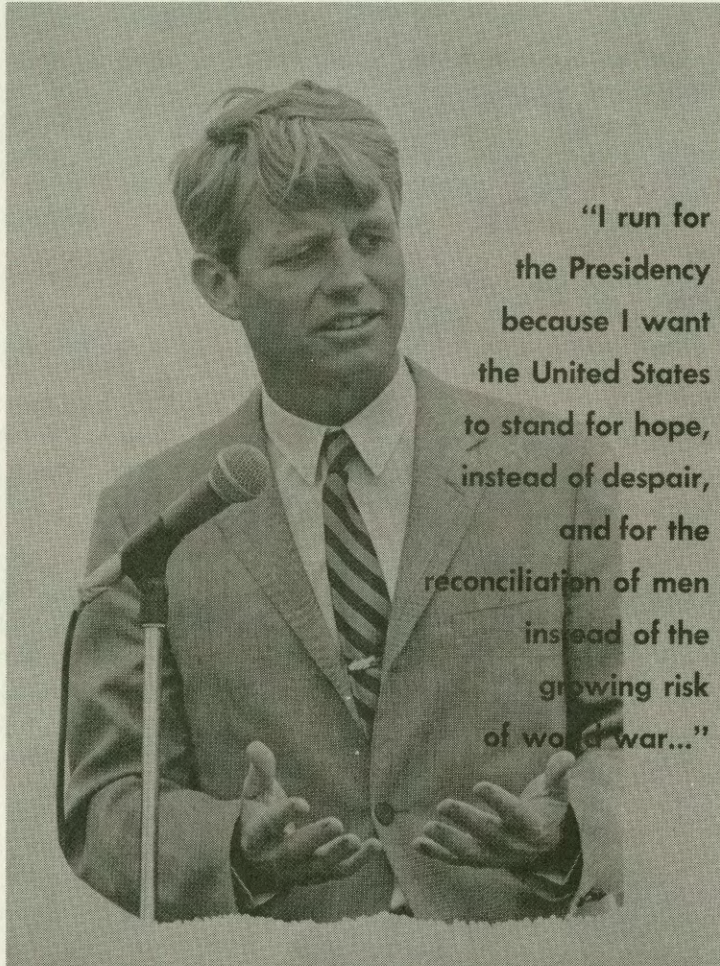
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## Senator From New York [Continued from Page 13]

emotion. The electorate split into two groups: those who were for Bobby Kennedy and those who were against him. Kenneth Keating was hardly a factor.

On election night, the Kennedys were watching the returns on TV at brother-in-law (and sister) Steven and Jean Smith's Fifth Avenue apartment. They watched as the vanquished Keating appeared on the screen announcing his concession speech and congratulations for Senator-elect Kennedy. The traditional victory statement followed. Although he thanked all the staff workers and helpers, Kennedy rather obviously did not thank the man most responsible for his victory - Lyndon B. Johnson. Nor did he thank Hubert Humphrey, who had made a special trip to the Garment Center to campaign for him. Analyzing the election, Keating suggested that the decisive factor in his loss was the tremendous victory by President Johnson, who carried New York State by more than 2 1/2 million votes. The actual count gave LBJ a margin of 2,669,597. Kennedy defeated Keating by 719,693 votes. Obviously Senator Kennedy owed his victory less to his own voter appeal than to Lyndon Johnson's landslide victory. As the *New York Times* reported afterward "Kennedy fought hard for his office with toughness and skill, but it was the anti-Goldwater sentiment resulting in a Johnson landslide that carried him to victory." 🐾

**EASTERN REGIONAL - DECEMBER 8-9**



"I run for  
the Presidency  
because I want  
the United States  
to stand for hope,  
instead of despair,  
and for the  
reconciliation of men  
instead of the  
growing risk  
of world war..."

1968 Flier From Oregon